PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS NEWSLETTER

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Palestinians Have Human Rights Too

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Ain al-Hilweh, South Lebanon — UNRWA photo by G. Nehmeh

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.

Martin Luthern King, Jr.
Letter from Birmingham jail, 1963

Phase Two of the Invasion of Lebanon

The Unproclaimed Wars

The Siege of Palestinians in the West Bank Intensifies

—staff

Amidst an unfinished, unpopular, and politically unrewarding military aggression in Lebanon, the government of Israel has intensified its unproclaimed war against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Aside from establishing new settlements in its longer range strategy of incorporating the territories, a wave or repression (accompanied by intimidation from armed, self-righteous colonists) has created an atmosphere of both fear and determined resistance in the occupied territories. The

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Report from Algiers

—Margaret Ann McCormack

The Sixteenth Session of the Palestine National Council (PNC), the Parliament-in-exile of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was held in Algiers, February fourteenth through the twenty-second, the first such gathering since the war in Lebanon. Having prepared for eight hundred to a thousand guests, the Algerian government, which hosted the gathering, was overwhelmed by nearly four thousand Palestinians, official representatives and delegations, supporters, and journalists who flocked to Algiers. Additional hotel space, expanded security, and additional interpreters were hastily but efficiently organized within the first two days of the conference.

The atmosphere of this historic meeting was one of both reunion and unity, jubilation and sadness, and most notably of strength for having survived Beirut.

Dissent in Unity

For weeks prior to the meeting in Algiers, attempts were made to split and divide the PLO, both internally and externally. The external pressures came from Libya and Syria. Libya's threat was mostly rhetorical, while Syria, where the bulk of the PLO fighters live, was in a position to exert much more actual pressure. Internal opposition came from Libyan and Syrian supporters in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command, and Saiqa, both of which attempted to mount a boycott of the PNC

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National Conference

WAR and PEACE in the HOLY LAND

Atlanta, Georgia
May 5-7, 1983

Palestinians, Israelis, and Americans will consider the issue of war and peace in the Holy Land when they convene at a national conference sponsored by a coalition of American peace and church-related organizations. Speakers include the Hon. Fahd al-Kawasmeh, Mayor of Hebron; Dr. Ghada Talhami, National Chair of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign; Dr. Dani Amit, Israeli physicist and founder of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon; Dr. Meir Pa'il, historian and former Israeli general currently at Columbia University; Dr. Joseph Lowery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Dr. Rufus Jones of the National Association of Evangelicals.

Designed for American Christians seeking to be faithful to Christ's call of reconciliation, conference topics will center upon the question of "What Biblical Justice Requires of Us" in relation to the Middle East conflict. Scholars, religious leaders, political analysts, and peace activists will address the history of war and peace in the Holy Land, Biblical prophecy and its contemporary role, U.S. foreign policy, and Christian responsibility for pursuing justice.

Advance registration is thirty-five dollars, which includes all meals and presentations. Unincluded overnight accommodations are readily available. For more information, write THE SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE COMMITTEE, P.O. Box 49646, Atlanta, Georgia, 30359. Or telephone (404) 633-0150 (in Atlanta); or (312) 987-1984 (national).

Terror Against Palestinians in South Lebanon Escalates

—B. W. G. Johnson

The plight of Palestinian civilians living in South Lebanon, particularly in the vicinity of the city of Sidon, has deteriorated dramatically since mid-January. Bands of Christian militias have been murdering Palestinian men, evicting entire Palestinian families, burning Palestinian homes and businesses, and generally terrorizing the resident Palestinian population.

Murder

The first reported murder of a Palestinian was that of Ahmad Sebaii on January 29th. Ahmad, whose family lived in Qaya'a, a suburb of Sidon, had arrived a few days earlier from Iraq, where he worked in an oil company. He had apparently not taken seriously a warning from local Christian forces to move into Ain al-Hilweh camp, believing that he could not be forcibly evicted from his own property. The same fate awaited Nabil Sharqaawi, who was murdered three days after he arrived from the Gulf region. By February 12th, fifteen bodies, including that of a resident of Burj al-Shemali camp, had been found in Sidon near Ain al-

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Notice to PHRC Readers:

At no additional cost, Numbers 2, 3, and 4 of the *Palestine Human Rights Newsletter* are being distributed along with the Jerusalem Palestinian weekly, *al-Fajr*, to which PHRC readers are encouraged to subscribe at the conclusion of this specially arranged introductory offer.

DIRECTLY TO THE POINT

Both possible explanations of the epidemic illness afflicting Palestinians on the West Bank are terrifying. One explanation is biological, the other is psychocultural, and both at this point in time are uncertain.

The more terrifying explanation concludes we are seeing an intentional campaign of collective poisoning which the occupation authorities are covering up. The ethnocidal ideology of many Israeli settlers makes this type of campaign more probable than observors sitting in comfortable living rooms would prefer to believe. (It would not be the first example this century in which complacent outsiders ignored irrational xenophobia until it was too late.) Although experience with chemical wastes in the United States makes us rightfully aware that the biological basis of toxic illness can be exceedingly difficult to isolate, the pattern of facts in this situation suggests that a campaign of systematic poisoning is the least likely explanation.

The less terrifying explanation is that we are seeing an example of a fairly well-documented psychocultural phenomena epidemiologists label 'collective hysteria'. That the Israel propaganda line relies upon this explanation does not imply the explanation is itself false. In fact, epidemic fear may be more terrifying than organic illness.

We stress that nothing can be concluded with certainty unless and until a biological cause is isolated: on the one hand, the case for collective poisoning is uncertain without it; on the other hand, the case for collective hysteria is uncertain by definition (it is logically impossible to exclude an infinite set of potential biological causes). However that may be, given what facts we know and what strands of circumstantial evidence we can piece together, the most probable conclusion combines the two explanations. That is, there are good reasons to believe that there have been some poisonings, especially in the initial and most severe cases; and there are also good reasons to believe that these poisonings touched off waves of communal panic psychosomatically affecting a specific social stratum.

Yet all of this necessary reasoning misses the essential point. Western observors have completely missed the alarming significance of these events; they have uncritically accepted superficial, semi-official reasoning because it reinforces the unacknowledged prejudices of their own culture. When we boil down the propaganda surrounding and distorting the psychocultural explanation, what remains is trivial — Arabs and women are known to be irrational, therefore Arab girls are extremely irrational. And because what is irrational occupies a despised rung on the modern cultural ladder, it is to be ignored.

But wait. Is it irrational that a native community fears the armed colonists of a government who vows to dispossess it? Is it irrational that young girls (who have lived their entire lives under military occupation) fear for their future and their fertility? This is not collective hysteria, it is epidemic fear — it warns us that human beings subjected to all kinds of indignities and oppression for sixteen years are pleading for redress, for justice, for freedom. These girls are not hysterical, they are terrified.

And that brings us directly to the point. Those who are irrational, the hysterics, compose a stratum of mostly adult males wearing Israeli military uniforms. Examine the case of Chief of Staff Rafael Eytan, who during these events publicly bragged, "When we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do is scurry around like drugged roaches in a bottle." Anyone living in a desert region or urban apartment intuitively knows what this signifies — roaches are the archtypical competitor for our living space, the rapidly breeding enemy to be eradicated by whatever means are necessary (including poison). Only a male hysteric would consider fellow human beings roaches to be drugged in their West Bank bottle.

It is tragic that makers of Western public opinion have so completely misunderstood the significance of these events, that even after Sabra and Shatila they remain captive to the propaganda that confirms their prejudices. Of course, this is itself part of the irrationality.

Please join us in urging a thorough biological and psychocultural investigation by a commission of competent and independent authorities.

The *PHRC Newsletter* is produced every six weeks by an Editorial Staff consisting of Linda Kateeb, Dick Reilly, Ed Roberts, Ghada Talhami, Don Wagner, and David Williams. Readers are invited to submit *Letters* and *Opinions*. Writers are encouraged to submit articles and research reports. Address correspondence to the Editorial Staff at the National Office.

Palestinians Have Human Rights Too

PHRC

Established as a coalition in 1977 to secure internationally recognized human rights for the Palestinian people, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign investigates and documents abuses of Palestinian rights, lending all possible support to those whose individual and collective rights have been violated.

Composed of individuals drawn from religious, academic, civil rights, and peace communities, PHRC has local Chapters and Affiliates (both group and individual) throughout the United States and Canada. Chapters and Affiliates are coordinated by the Rev. Don Wagner, National Director, whose National Office in Chicago is responsible to an Executive Board, currently chaired by Dr. Ghada Talhami. Membership is open to all concerned with securing universal rights by defending the individual and collective rights of Palestinians.

To keep readers abreast of events affecting Palestinian rights, PHRC publishes the *Palestine Human Rights Newsletter* every six weeks. It also provides research reports in the *Palestine Human Rights Bulletin*. To alert the American public to violations and abuses needing immediate response, PHRC issues *Action Alerts* as often as necessary. Subscribers as well as PHRC members are encouraged to contribute to the *Newsletter* and *Bulletin*.

Annual Membership (includes publications) ..... $20 (students $10)
Annual Subscription ..... $15 (students $ 8)

Make checks payable to the Palestine Human Rights Campaign
20 East Jackson Rm. #1111
Telephone (312) 987-1830 Chicago, Illinois 60604

(بدون تعليق ..)

In this **untitled** *drawing by Libyan sociopolitical cartoonist Muhammad al-Zawawi,* **accountable Arabs** *complain at the* **United Nations** *while turning their back on the massacre as* **Arab forces** *are imprisoned in a cage whose padlock is labeled* **America.**

LETTERS

To our Readers:

Living under what is now sixteen years of occupation, Palestinians suffer unlawful imprisonment, collective reprisal, confiscation of property, censorship of press, violation of academic freedom, restriction of travel and association, dismissal of elected officials, and forced emigration, all at the hands of the Israeli authorities, and all in addition to the physical attacks, intimidation, and murder they suffer at the hands of armed colonizers. In South Lebanon, they suffer harassment, beatings, property confiscation, rape, and murder at the hands of militias whose ethnocidal goal is to "cleanse" Lebanon of its Palestinian population (See DOCUMENT, page seven).

One way you can help us expose this persecution and defend its victims is to contribute to PHRC publications: Submit ideas, drafted or polished research, primary documents, drawings, photographs, letters, and viewpoints to the *Newsletter;* Advertise appropriate conferences and publications; Make sure editors of religious, academic, civil rights, and peace newsletters, as well as journalists and editors of publications dealing with the Middle East, make use in their columns of PHRC documentation of the violation of Palestinian individual and collective rights.

Another way you can help is to work at expanding and broadening our readership. *Every person reading this letter should themselves subscribe, and should then show this copy to two or three friends and have them subscribe.* We will be happy to send complementary copies to appropriate individuals, organizations, publications, and even entire mailing lists — please contact the National Office.

In short, our slogan is "every reader a contributor, every reader a distributor."

Finally, it is hardly necessary to reiterate that a violation of human rights anywhere is a threat to their foundation everywhere — as Dr. King put it so clearly, "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality." Nor is it necessary to repeat that Palestinians have been excluded from that mutuality perhaps more systematically than any other people — indeed, denial of Palestinians as mutual, human subjects has been, and continues to be, the cultural prerequisite of their persecution. What is necessary is doing something about it, and if you have been doing something, doing more.

PHRC needs your help in producing the publications and reaching the newly receptive readership created out of widespread revulsion against Israel's aggression against Palestinians in Lebanon last summer. Please subscribe, please contribute, and please help us extend our readership. Thank you.

The Editors
Chicago, April 1983

IN A NUTSHELL

On the Hussein-Arafat Negotiations

"In reality, the Arab Summit is being held here between the King and Arafat" — Western diplomat in Amman

"This is the last roll of the dice to save Palestine" — Jordanian diplomat in Amman

"The Israelis want us to capitulate. The Americans are doing nothing. We are not going to put our hands up and capitulate" — Palestinian diplomat in Amman

Contributors This Issue

John Egan is a graduate student in International Relations at the University of Chicago. *B. W. G. Johnson* is a reporter who has recently returned from Lebanon. *Margaret Ann McCormack* is an aide to Congressman Ervyn M. Dymally, member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Congressional Black Caucus. She made her trip in an unofficial capacity at the invitation of the Palestine National Council. PHRC extends its special thanks for her report from Algiers. An artist living in Chicago based *Palestinian Women Under Attack,* the drawing which appears on page six, on the photograph appearing March 17th in *The New York Times.* We extend our appreciation. *David L. Williams* is a PHRC member living in Chicago.

PHRC Briefing

National

As the brutal occupation of Palestinians becomes more severe in Lebanon and Palestine, PHRC continues to elaborate its program and expand its network across the United States.

* Program: PHRC is organizing a **summer work camp on the West Bank** in conjunction with Birzeit University from 30 July to 20 August 1983. Applications for North American students currently enrolled in graduate or undergraduate programs are available from the National Office. Twelve students will be chosen. The cost of $650 covers nearly a month in the Middle East, air fare, room, and most meals. PHRC is circulating the Ad Hoc Committee petition in conjunction with its **academic freedom campaign** (see page five). We are appealing for resolutions from university groups and organizing events on campuses. Bring your campus in — contact Tim Devine at the National Office. PHRC and the Palestine Congress of North America coordinated a **fact finding mission of American clergy** which has just returned from Lebanon, Jordan, the West Bank, and Israel. From the midwest as well as the coasts, the seven included clergy from the United Methodist, Mennonite, Presbyterian, Church of the Brethren, and Roman Catholic denominations. They are prepared to speak on human rights issues — contact the Speakers Bureau at the National Office.

BRIEFINGS

* Meetings: PHRC is happy to report the participation of prominent speakers unconfirmed at the time the announcement of the **Atlanta Convention** on page one was drafted. Additional guests include: Mayor Kawasmeh, Fr. Riah Abu al-Assal (Nazareth), Rev. Riad Jarjour (Beirut), lawyer Wa'il Khayr (Beirut), Dr. Landrum Bolling (Georgetown), Dr. Ibrahim Abu Lughod (Northwestern), Jawad George (PCNA), Dr. Jim Zogby (ADC), and Haim Baram *(ISRAEL-PALESTINE)*. Call 404-633-0150 or PHRC's National Office to register. Dr. Noam Chomsky (MIT) and Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (Northwestern) will speak with specialists on El Salvador and Central America at a **conference in Chicago on Israel and the U.S. in Central America** taking place June 4, one year after the invasion of Lebanon. PHRC will convene September 17 and 18 a **national convention to remember the Sabra-Shatila massacre** and discuss with major leaders its significance for the struggle to attain Palestinian rights.

* Expansion: PHRC has opened a **West Coast Regional Office in Seattle** under the direction of Dr. Fawzi Khoury and Janet Jubran. Its purpose is to expand our West Coat network, and facilitate advocates of Palestinian rights in churches, peace groups, and universities in western and mountain states. Chapters, affiliates, contacts, and friends should contact Fawzi and Janet at PHRC West Coast Regional Office: 5200 University Way NE, Suite 402; Seattle, WA 98105.

Chapter

New PHRC **Washington DC Chapter** has been active since March 1983. Sponsors, among many, include Cong. Walter Fauntroy, author Grace Halsell *(Journey to Jerusalem)*, Jawad George (PCNA), Dr. Jim Zogby (ADC), Rev. Paul Saliba (Antiochan Orthodox Church), and Mennonite theologian Dr. Myron Augsberger. Nearly one hundred people attended its initial public meeting, including radio and television jounalists. The Chapter has also distributed an information packet to area churches, and contacted Senators and Congressmen to show PHRC alarm over epidemic illness on the West Bank. Coordinators Dr. Dewey Beagle and Saba Shami can be contacted through PO Box 2353; Alexandria, VA 22301.

City Briefing: *NYC*

The battle for American public opinion continues to rage in full-page advertisements in *The New York Times*. A well-financed grossly dishonest ad campaign sponsored by the Jordan is Palestine Committee (and probably originating in Israeli government circles) is laying the ideological groundwork for the dispossession of West Bank Palestinians. Over the long run, purveyors of the big lie usually lose, people of integrity being more numerous and less stupid than propagandists assume.

Friends in New York City continue to contribute to the struggle against such mendacity. ACCOUNT, a group formed to defend Palestinian prisoners, and the November 29th Coalition, a multi-organization solidarity movement, are circulating a **petition calling on the US and Israel to respect guarantees provided prisoners of war** under the Geneva Conventions. And finally, an informative and principled ad defending Palestinian academic freedom appeared in *The New York Times* **in early April** **(see page four).** **Truth beareth away the victory.**

CHRONOLOGY PLUS

Monday 7 March to Sunday 13 March

- To alleviate fears in Arab gulf states of internal subversion or external attack, the US reacted positively to Saudi requests to purchase twelve hundred new tanks and armored personnel carriers (8 March). Five thousand Americans now work in defense-related activities in Saudi Arabia, which has received 23 billion dollars in US military aid since 1950.
- Former President Carter was confronted by demonstrations in Hebron, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem (9 March). Reaffirming his commitment to Israel while receiving an honorary degree at Tel Aviv University (10 March), Carter's criticism of Israeli settlement policy and refusal of an official escort in the West Bank did not placate student demonstrators. As Reagan, Shultz, and Habib attended a NSC meeting (11 March) to prepare to receive Lebanese (12 March) and Israeli (13 March) delegations for troop withdrawal negotiations, Carter conferred with King Hussein (13 March).
- With ties to Israel and the economic opening to the West under attack in Egypt, Mubarak arrived at the Non-Aligned Conference (7 March), where he conferred with King Hussein as well as gulf leaders. Before leaving Cario, Mubarak had responded to a PNC resolution enjoining contacts with "Egypt's nationalist forces" by rejectiong "interference" in Egyptian domestic affairs (5 March). At the New Delhi meeting, Gandhi, Castro, and Arafat criticized American and Israeli Middle East policies.

Monday 14 March to Sunday 20 March

- After ten weeks of trying to satisfy Lebanon's plea for "sovereignty" and Israel's demand for "security," the US convened high level, two-tracked talks with Israel and Lebanon in Washington on American turf. The US hopes breaking the withdrawal deadlock will encourage productive negotiations between Hussein and Arafat before the fluid, post-invasion diplomatic situation hardens. In eight hours of meetings (14 and 15 March), Shultz offered to expand the multinational force, provide US training and advisors for an elite Lebanese border patrol, and establish a post-withdrawal trilateral security commission.
- Non-PLO Palestinian representative Walid Khalidi joins a bitterly divided Arab League follow-up delegation to Great Britain headed by King Hussein (18 March). This probably signals American acceptance of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian negotiating team whose independent Palestinian representatives are nonetheless responsible to Arafat.
- Aggravating fears on the West Bank, Deputy Speaker Meir Cohen asks in a speech to the Knesset why Israel had not expelled two or three hundred thousand Palestinians in 1967 (16 March).

Monday 21 March to Sunday 27 March

- Escalating its colonization of the West Bank, the Likud government announces eight new colonies will be constructed in the densely populated Samarian hills (21 March). Thirty-two girls are stricken in Arrabe, near Jenin (21 March). In Brussels, Common Market heads of state term Israeli settlement policy contrary to international law and an obstacle to peace (22 March). Fifty-two more students are hospitalized in Arrabe (24 March). Eighty are stricken in Jenin (26 March). Two hundred and fifty are striken in Jenin (27 March).
- In the withdrawal negotiations, Habib discovers Begin will not relinquish military control of South Lebanon (24 March). Demonstrators protesting a police crackdown following ambushes in Beirut are dispersed by Lebanese troops (26 March).
- As the Arafat-Hussein negotiations approach, the PLO Executive Council meets in Tunis to prepare their position (24 March).
- At a critical juncture in the future of the Reagan initiative, the Vice President of the Supreme Soviet arrives in Damascus for a week-long demonstration of Soviet political support for Syria (21 March).

Monday 28 March to Sunday 3 April

- Reassured by Soviet military and diplomatic support, Syria accuses Israel of preparing a military attack. Syrian and Israeli gunners trade tank and mortar fire in Lebanon. In a note whose real audience may have been the US, the USSR warns Israel against preparing a strike against Syria (29 March). Begin denies the Soviet accusation (31 March).
- On the eve of negotiations between the PLO and Jordan, Reagan is asked (after a televised arms control speech had concluded) why the US isn't releasing seventy-five F-16s to Israel. In a slip of the tongue, Reagan mistakenly asserts the truth, "We are forbidden by law to release those planes" (31 March). As Shamir terms the slip "regrettable" and the NYT and TV networks decide the off-hand remark is the day's top story, the State Department informs the world that "the President was not stating that he was making a determination of ineligibility under United States law" (31 March).
- In Damascus on Land Day, Arafat reiterates the PNC positions on the Reagan plan (30 March). Arafat travels to Amman to begin three days of decisive talks with Hussein, who consults Reagan by phone (31 March).

Monday 4 April to Sunday 10 April

- Three international medical teams are in Israel investigating the nearly one thousand hospitalizations among Palestinian schoolgirls (4 April).
- In two-man talks, Arafat and Hussein reach tentative agreement (4 April). Arafat consults with Fateh Central Committee in Kuwait (5 April). Warned by Mubarak that talks are breaking down, the US reiterates "the continuation of settlement activity is a major obstacle in the way of broadened negotiations" (8 April). PLO representatives return to Amman with a vote of "no confidence in the American stand" (9 April). Hussein announces failure of talks: "We in Jordan, having refused from the beginning to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians, will neither act separately nor in lieu of anybody in any Middle East negotiations" (10 April). Reagan faults "radical elements" (10 April). Israeli government officials claim that West Bank "settlement is part of our security" (10 April).
- Dr. Issam Sartawi, born in Acre in 1935, resident of Iraq, the US, Jordan, Austria, and France, is murdered.

Monday 11 April to Sunday 17 April

- Reagan lectures Palestinian leaders on their choice, "either the status quo and the continued frustration of their people's aspirations, or a bold and courageous move to break the deadlock." (12 April).
- A House committee increases economic aid to Israel and decreases the percentage of military aid to be repayed the US (13 April).
- King Hussein reveals that King Hassan has arranged a meeting by Reagan private representative Kissinger and PLO official Ahmad Dajani without the Jordanian monarch's knowledge. He also informs Karen Elliott House of the *Wall Street Journal* that during a trip to Moscow in early December the new Soviet leader Yuri Andropov had taken him aside to say, "I shall oppose the Reagan plan, and we will use all our resources to oppose it. With due respect, all the weight will be on your shoulders, and they aren't broad enough to bear it." (14 April).
- Ten-thousand Peace Now demonstrators symbolically embarrass the Likud government and a small audience of Jewish fanatics by showing up at the dedication-conversion of a military outpost to a civilian settlement at Nahal Bracha near Nablus on Independence Day (17 April).
- WAFA calls for the resumption of talks (13 April).

Organizational Briefing: *I&P*

One of the most important publications in the peace with justice camp is Maxime Ghilan's *ISRAEL-PALESTINE Monthly Review*. Published in Paris (and in Jerusalem as *Bamerkhav*), *I&P* has a world-wide network of friends, critics, and supporters that rely upon every issue. Ghilan, a non-Zionist Jewish peace activist and friend of recently murdered PLO ambassador Issam Sartawi, has been a pioneer in broadening the dialogue between the Palestinian national movement and the growing movement of progressive and democratic forces inside Israel.

Well deserving its reputation for comprehensive and objective inquiries, *I&P* has both documented and publicised hundreds of cases of arrest, torture, land confiscation, illegal imprisonment, and other abuses of Palestinian rights. Never sitting on the sidelines, *I&P* also has perceptively analyzed trends within the Israeli body politic as well as the wider Zionist movement. Most important, it has defended the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, recognizing the PLO as their sole representative.

Recently, *I&P* played an instrumental role in bringing to light the diaries of Moshe Sharret, former Israeli Prime Minister, whose recollections outlined Israel's territorial and political ambitions in Lebanon as early as the 1950s. Well over a year before Sharon's tanks rolled across the border of Lebanon last June, *I&P* warned its readers of the impending invasion, its detailed examination of the relation between the Phalangist militia and the Israeli Defense Forces providing a grim prophecy of the consequences to follow if Sharon were to reach Beirut. Since the war, *I&P* has kept its readers informed of tendencies emerging within the Israeli left, and alerted them to elements in the regime pressing an accelerated settlement program and intensified repression in the West Bank and Gaza.

Now ***I&P* is facing a major economic crisis,** one that threatens to shut them down, possibly for good. Their Israeli office will be closed at the end of April, and their Documentation Unit may follow if financial support is not forthcoming. This would be a great loss. In the words of their staff, "Time is running out. Inside Israel, the forces of darkness are gaining, while on the West Bank and in Southern Lebanon, political assassination, destruction of homes, and wanton imprisonment continue unabated. We are the Jewish opposition to this disaster and this disgrace. Please give us the means to continue the struggle." Subscriptions are twenty-five dollars. Contributions are needed. *ISRAEL-PALESTINE;* Boite Postale 130-10, 75463; Paris Cedex 10, France.

ACTIVITIES

Unless clearly indicated, the appearance of petitions in ACTIVITIES constitutes neither sponsorship nor endorsement by PHRC. You may sign, clip, and mail either petition or both, page eight.

Am. Friends Service Comm. Midwest Regional Initiates Settlement Freeze Petition

The following is the text of the American Friends Service Committee's settlement freeze petition that may be endorsed on page eight.

In his September initiative, President Reagan urged "the immediate adoption of a settlements freeze by Israel" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We agree.

Since 1967, Israel has established 11 settlements in the Gaza Strip and 110 on the West Bank, where it has already incorporated 60 percent of the land. By gradually absorbing the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Israeli government is subverting the formula of "land for peace" that has been the foundation of international and American peace initiatives for sixteen years.

As Americans working for peace in the Middle East, we support those Israelis and Palestinians who believe peace with justice can only be negotiated on the basis of mututal recognition leading to self-determination, statehood, and security for both people. Because the opportunity for a peaceful resolution of the conflict diminishes as each new settlement is built, we ask you to join us now in endorsing a settlement freeze.

Ad Hoc Committee Initiates Academic Freedom Petition

The following is the text of the Ad Hoc Committee's academic freedom petition that appeared April 1st in the New York Times and and may be endorsed on page eight. **PHRC endorses this initiative.**

Israel: Restore Academic Freedom to Palestinian Universities now!!

Academic freedom and indeed the very existence of higher education in the West Bank and Gaza are serously threatened. In 1974, UNESCO charged that Israel's educational policies in the Occupied Territories were aimed at "paralyzing Palestinian culture." Since that time, the suppression of academic freedom has intensified. Military control over all aspects of Palestinian education, as represented by Military Order No. 854, is totally incompatible with academic freedom. This order, and subsequent related orders, confer broad powers to the Israeli military authorities which have been repeatedly used to restrict and disrupt the adademic process.

We oppose the provisions of military order No. 854 which grant the Israeli Military:

- Power to issue and revoke annual licenses to institutions of higher learning;
- Power to control recruitment and dismissal through the certification of teachers and the denial of certificates for political reasons;
- Power to require a "loyalty oath" as a condition for receiving a work permit;
- Power to control curriculum and program development through permits required to add departments, buildings, colleges and new programs;
- Power to censor reading material through banning text books, library materials, journals and documents (In a report issued in 1981, a Hebrew University Faculty Committee estimated the number of banned books at 3,000);
- Power to impose custom duties and taxes on educational materials used in Palestinian universities while exempting Israeli universities from same duties and taxes.

In addition, we deplore the repeated closures of Palestinian universities; Birzeit University, in particular, was forcibly closed for SEVEN months during the past academic year. This constitutes a form of collective punishment and as such, a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention governing belligerent occupation.

We deplore the deportation of 22 Palestinian and foreign faculty members and the dismissal of 13 professors holding foreign passports for their refusal to sign a political statement which U.S. Secretary of State Shultz has characterized as a "Loyalty Oath."

We deplore the house and town arrest orders issued against student council members, journalists, artists and professionals.

Institutions of higher learning in the West Bank and Gaza are necessary and vital centers for the expression of Palestinian ideas and hopes. Peace will not be achieved through military suppression of these hopes or of the Palestinian culture they represent. Palestinian universities and institutions must be protected to enhance their role in the pursuit of peace. Israel must turn away from its policies of suppression and permanent war against the Palestinian people. Continued interference in the functioning of educational institutions cannot be justified as serving Israeli security. Academic freedom must be immediately restored to Palestinian campuses in the Occupied Territories.

ISRAEL: RESTORE ACADEMIC FREEDOM TO PALESTINIAN UNIVERSITIES NOW!!

WE CALL ON ALL ADVOCATES OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND PEACE TO SPEAK OUT NOW.

Understanding the 'Other'?

—John Egan

That Israeli society and politics are becoming irreversibly authoritarian and xenophobic haunts Jacobo Timerman.

Yet two voices characterize his narrative in *The Longest War*. On the one hand, he fears the impact of Menachem Begin's nationalism, which brands dissenters traitors. On the other hand, Timerman feels that the humanist bedrock of Judaism will overcome the chauvinism and militarism of Begin. Writing during the invasion of Lebanon, Timerman sincerely believed that this humanism would prevail; however, the massacre at the Sabra and Shatila camps forced him to rethink his conclusions. He has obviously not resolved his anxious ambivalence.

Writing in early August 1982, as the Israeli Defense Forces were destroying Beirut, Timerman took note of the Israeli anti-war demonstrations and held that "the people of Jerusalem think of Beirut and struggle for Beirut. There is rage. There is hope." Six weeks later, Timerman, seeing that little was done in Israel to protest the massacre, "even though all of us (Israelis) realized that it had been organized by our own army," concluded that a "sickness" is "destroying Israel" from within. This pathology is best shown in the idea that "we (Israelis) may not be wholly repelled by the possibility of a Palestinian genocide."

However much I agree with Timerman's criticism of the invasion of Lebanon and its architects, I have serious reservations with his interpretation of Zionism and the role that it played in the invasion itself. His naivete is partly shown when he casually mentions the "*one hundred years* of active Jewish colonization *of Israel*" (my italics), as if a Palestinian society had never existed in Palestine! Timerman simply doesn't question the Jews' right to build a state in what is now Israel — it is such a basic

element to his argument that he finds it unnecessary to elaborate. His tone on this topic carries the air of someone who is stating a self-evident truth, about which there can be no serious disagreement.

This historical naivete about the effects of Zionism finds its expression elsewhere. Whenever he looks at a kibbutz, for example, he automatically thinks that a desert existed there before. He then outlines the culture of the kibbutz and his connection to it:

> My generation was brought up with the conviction that the kibbutz and its way represented the moral traditions of the Jewish people as well as the political conscience that would lead them to become a normal people in a democratic state. Being in a kibbutz even for a few moments, allows us to feel the umbilical cord that unites us with the pioneers who forged the nation.

Fine, but what was the nation forged out of? Although there has been an extraordinarily *recent* acknowledgement by Timerman of the physical existence of the Palestinians, he has not successfully integrated this acknowledgement into his understanding of Zionism.

One should regard his call for Palestinian rights with some scepticism, then, given this unresolved contradiction. He is vague about a Palestinian state, and his implacable hostility to the PLO distorts his understanding of what this organization has meant to the Palestinians. Timerman wants a Palestinian existence which does not threaten his right to live in Israel. While critical of Begin's attempt to create a West Bank political leadership which excludes the PLO, it seems that Timerman accepts the strategy itself, and faults Begin only on his clumsy implementation of it. There is evidence, however, that his position is evolving.

Compromised by an ahistorical narrative which overlooks the 70 year history of Palestinian national resistance, Timerman has demonstrated that opposition to Begin does not signify committed support for the Palestinian people. Timerman's humanistic concern for the Palestinians is apparently sincere but it arises from unresolved contradictions between Jewish and Palestinian nationalism. Due to extensive publicity and public comment, especially in the American Jewish community, *The Longest War* will influence the way that the American public views the Palestinian problem — told, typically, by a non-Palestinian.

West Bank Siege *(Continued from Page 1)*

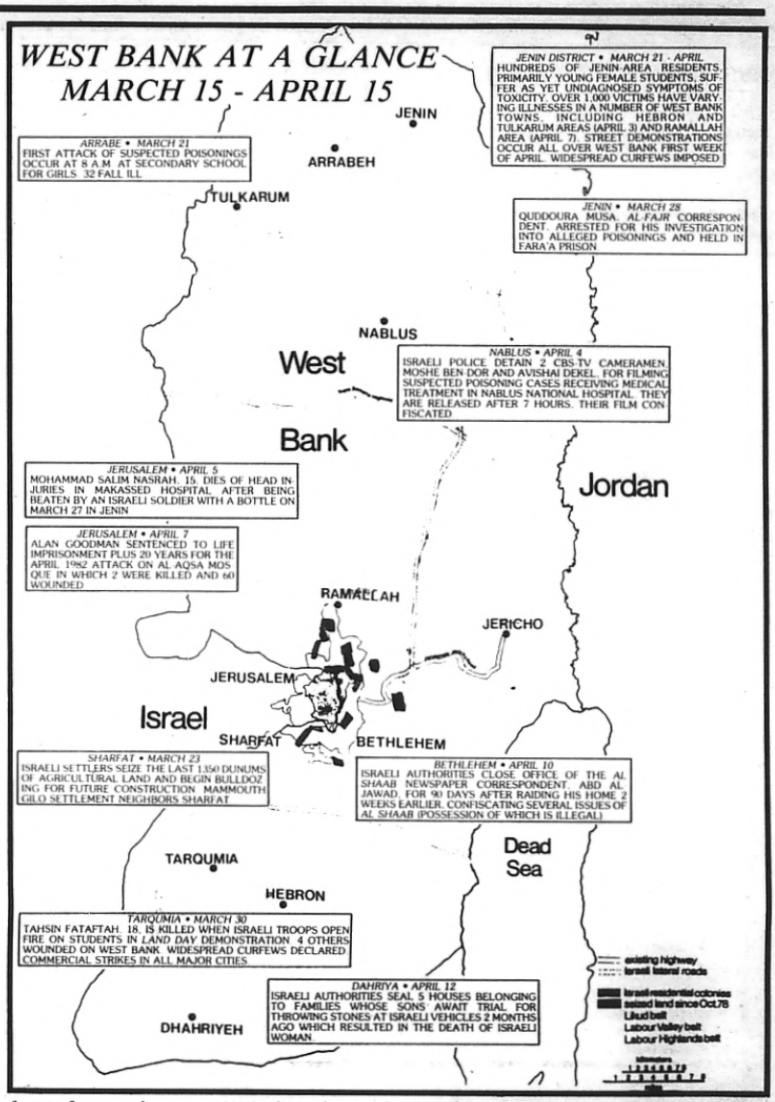
spread of an illness of unknown cause is the latest indication that last summer's military siege of Beirut is now taking place by non-military means on the West Bank and Gaza. Existence of contingency plans to expel as many as 800,000 Palestinians has recently been confirmed by the Israeli Defense Forces.

Illness

The incidents of illness began on March 21, when thirty-two students were stricken while attending lower-floor classrooms facing a military base on the eastern side of the Secondary School for Girls in Arrabe, a village southwest of Jenin, northern-most market town of the West Bank. Visiting the school that same day, Palestinian and Israeli doctors variously described the pungent odor of which the girls had complained as ozone, or hydrogen sulfide. Two days later, when fifty-two students from the same locality became ill, the Israeli Ministry of Health sent a team to investigate. On March 26, the second wave of the epidemic began in the nearby village of Barkin and Mei Saloum, spreading to Jenin itself, and hospitalizing eighty students from seven schools. The largest outbreak occurred the following day, when nearly five hundred cases were reported, affecting residents of various age and gender. Israeli experts in biochemical warfare were now added to the civilian, military, and police investigating teams. By the first of April, between eight hundred (Israeli sources) and fourteen hundred (Palestinian sources) cases had been reported. The victims, mostly school girls between fifteen and eighteen from the Jenin area, have suffered from dizziness, headaches, fainting spells, stomach pains, vomiting, difficulty in breathing, dilated pupils, cc' 'ness of extremities and blurred vision. Many of the victims have had recurring symptoms, having been discharged from hospitals only to be readmitted a few hours or days later. Before the epidemic subsided, cases were reported from Anabta, a village near Tulkarm, and Yatta, a village near Hebron, seventy miles to the south.

In an attempt to prevent independent journalists and medical experts from investigating the epidemic, Israeli authorities imposed a curfew on the entire region. On March 28, *al-Fajr* reporter Quddoura Musa was arrested and taken to Fara'a Prison in Jenin. April 4, authorities arrested two Israeli reporters covering the story for CBS TV. Nine days after the first girls were taken ill, Israeli authorities were refusing physicians and journalists permission to enter Jenin or the villages in question. According to Israeli human rights lawyer Felicia Langer, "They're making a prison out of Jenin . . . The area is under siege and nobody is allowed to come in."[1] Having denied independent access to blood and urine samples, not until March 31 did Israeli authorities reverse their decision under international pressure and allow outside investigations. Reports from the World Health Organization, the International Commission of the Red Cross, the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta are not yet available, although Dr. Frank Altherr of the Red Cross remarked he had discovered "no organic basis"[1] for the epidemic (preliminary support for the explanation given by the Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Health at a press conference on March 31). Without ruling out an organic basis for the initial and most severe cases, the Director General speculated the cause of the epidemic could be attributed to psychosomatic hysteria.[1]

Israeli military occupation sources immediately accused Palestinian activists of staging the illness in order to exploit world sympathy prior to the commemoration of Land Day. However, both Palestinian and Israeli officials agree the illness could have resulted from deliberate poisoning. A copy of the discharge sheet from the Poison Treatment Center of Rambam Hospital in Haifa for a seventeen-year-old patient records, "She was exposed to toxic gases three days previously" . . . and concludes, "The cause of the disease or chemical ingredients responsible for the symptoms could not be identified in biological fluids (blood and urine)".[4] According to Dr. Hussein Obeit, Director of the Public Health Service for the West Bank, "The clinical symptoms displayed by the fifty-three girls from Arrabe . . . are different from and more severe than those reported by hundreds of other Jenin area residents . . . The clinical picture certainly points to something more than a case of mass hysteria."[5] In a statement from the Jordanian Physicians Union in the West Bank, doctors concluded "the cases of collective poisoning are the result of inhaling unknown gases." As collaborating evidence, the physicians assert severe cases include men as well as women, adults as well as children. They also accuse the authorities of intentionally aggravating the situation by indiscrimate use of tear gas, advising the Palestinian residents of the West Bank that the panic created by such psychological warfare (tear gas is a chemical, too) may be "as dangerous as the poisoning."[6]


WEST BANK AT A GLANCE
MARCH 15 - APRIL 15
JENIN
ARRABEH
TULKARM
NABLUS
West
Bank
Jordan
RAMALLAH
JERICHO
JERUSALEM
Israel
SHARFAT
BETHLEHEM
TARQUMIA
HEBRON
Dead Sea
DHAHRIYEH
ARRABE • MARCH 21
FIRST ATTACK OF SUSPECTED POISONINGS OCCUR AT 8 A.M. AT SECONDARY SCHOOL FOR GIRLS. 32 FALL ILL
JENIN DISTRICT • MARCH 21 - APRIL
HUNDREDS OF JENIN-AREA RESIDENTS, PRIMARILY YOUNG FEMALE STUDENTS, SUFFER AS YET UNDIAGNOSED SYMPTOMS OF TOXICITY. OVER 1,000 VICTIMS HAVE VARYING ILLNESSES IN A NUMBER OF WEST BANK TOWNS, INCLUDING HEBRON AND TULKARM AREAS (APRIL 3) AND RAMALLAH AREA (APRIL 7). STREET DEMONSTRATIONS OCCUR ALL OVER WEST BANK FIRST WEEK OF APRIL. WIDESPREAD CURFEWS IMPOSED
JENIN • MARCH 28
QUDDOURA MUSA, AL FAJR CORRESPONDENT, ARRESTED FOR HIS INVESTIGATION INTO ALLEGED POISONINGS AND HELD IN FARA'A PRISON
NABLUS • APRIL 4
ISRAELI POLICE DETAIN 2 CBS-TV CAMERAMEN, MOSHE BEN-DOR AND AVISHAI DEKEL, FOR FILMING SUSPECTED POISONING CASES RECEIVING MEDICAL TREATMENT IN NABLUS NATIONAL HOSPITAL. THEY ARE RELEASED AFTER 7 HOURS. THEIR FILM CONFISCATED
JERUSALEM • APRIL 5
MOHAMMAD SALIM NASRAH, 15, DIES OF HEAD INJURIES IN MAKASSED HOSPITAL, AFTER BEING BEATEN BY AN ISRAELI SOLDIER WITH A BOTTLE ON MARCH 27 IN JENIN
JERUSALEM • APRIL 7
ALAN GOODMAN SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT PLUS 20 YEARS FOR THE APRIL 1982 ATTACK ON AL AQSA MOSQUE IN WHICH 2 WERE KILLED AND 60 WOUNDED
SHARFAT • MARCH 23
ISRAELI SETTLERS SEIZE THE LAST 1,350 DUNUMS OF AGRICULTURAL LAND AND BEGIN BULLDOZING FOR FUTURE CONSTRUCTION MAMMOUTH GILO SETTLEMENT NEIGHBORS SHARFAT
BETHLEHEM • APRIL 10
ISRAELI AUTHORITIES CLOSE OFFICE OF THE AL SHAAB NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENT, ABD AL JAWAD, FOR 90 DAYS AFTER RAIDING HIS HOME 2 WEEKS EARLIER. CONFISCATING SEVERAL ISSUES OF AL SHAAB (POSSESSION OF WHICH IS ILLEGAL)
TARQUMIA • MARCH 30
TAHSIN FATAFTAH, 18, IS KILLED WHEN ISRAELI TROOPS OPEN FIRE ON STUDENTS IN LAND DAY DEMONSTRATION. 4 OTHERS WOUNDED ON WEST BANK. WIDESPREAD CURFEWS DECLARED. COMMERCIAL STRIKES IN ALL MAJOR CITIES
DAHRIYA • APRIL 12
ISRAELI AUTHORITIES SEAL 5 HOUSES BELONGING TO FAMILIES WHOSE SONS AWAIT TRIAL FOR THROWING STONES AT ISRAELI VEHICLES 2 MONTHS AGO WHICH RESULTED IN THE DEATH OF ISRAELI WOMAN
existing highway
Israeli lateral roads
Israeli residential colonies
seized land since Oct.'78
Likud belt
Labour Valley belt
Labour Highlands belt

Settler Violence

All of this must be understood within a context of intensified attacks upon Palestinians perpetrated by Judeo-fascist colonists seeking to purge the West Bank of its native population (and inflamed by official aggression against Palestinians in Lebanon orchestrated by Israel's right-wing government). The tactics of the Gush Emunim and Kach movements include kidnappings, beatings, bombings, and murder. They are armed. The tactics are condoned and perhaps encouraged by the Israeli government, which is using these movements as a wedge to open the West Bank to massive settlement by less ideologically committed Israelis, thereby transforming the occupation into irreversible incorporation.

In the war for Hebron, the Gush Emunim held a rally under army protection in the nearby village of Dahriya February 22. Residents, who had been under curfew for more than two months, watched from rooftops as Rabbi Moshe Levinger declared, "the answer to bloodshed and to the purity of the land is punishment." Two days later the execution of the threat was fortunately botched — a bomb during prayers at al-Kazazin Mosque in Hebron exploded prematurely, wounding only two.

March 10, forty-five followers of Rabbi Meir Kahane, mostly colonists from Kiryat Arba, were arrested by Israeli authorities before attempting to seize mosques situated on the Temple Mount. They were armed. On April 7, thirty-eight year old Baltimore-born psychopath Alan Goodman was sentenced to life for murdering a guard during a shooting spree in an identical conspiracy last year that sparked demonstrations leaving twenty Palestinians dead. He reportedly shouted "Liquidate the Arabs" as he was taken from the courtroom. In the words of respected Israeli television journalist Rafik Halabi, "What the Kiryat Arba settlers are doing is a carefully planned struggle to liquidate the city of Hebron. For the first time since 1948, the Israeli government has a plan to do in an Arab city, not to play with it, but to liquidate it. Or, as they put it, to deport it."[7]

Government Policy

All of this must be understood within the context of official Israeli government policy — support for the terror exists in the highest circles, both military and civilian. Since the massacre in Sabra and Shatila, nearly two hundred Palestinians, including many West Bank professional and community leaders, have been imprisoned. More than sixty have received sentences from one to five years. These figures

(Continued on Page 7)

South Lebanon *(Continued from Page 1)*

Hilweh.[4] Three of the bodies were burned; relief workers in the region report at least one other case of severe mutilation. On February 22nd, Lebanese papers reported the discovery of three more bodies in Sidon — the one body identified at the time was that of Ali Abdel Karin Saffadi, a sixty-five year old Palestinian resident of Abra, a suburb.

Uprooting

All reports from South Lebanon indicate that the suburbs of Hillaliyeh, Sarafand, Adloun, al-Akiba, Abra, Adoussiyeh, and Qaya'a are the target of a current wave of evictions by Christian forces. In an interview with a foreign correspondent, a member of the Lebanese Forces was quoted as saying that his commander ". . . had decided on January 4th to order all Palestinians living in Sidon and its surrounding areas to live in Ain al-Hilweh because their presence constitutes a danger to Lebanese families."[5] On February 9th, a first-hand report stated that a notice had been posted on a Sidon mosque urging all Lebanese to kill a Palestinian each. A flyer distributed by a group calling itself *Lebanese Unity* threatened: "Return to the camps. All those who do not heed this warning within twenty-four hours are completely responsible for themselves." The margin had the following message: "He who has warned is exonerated."[6]

Approximately 120 families living in al-Akiba received written eviction threats from *Lebanese Unity* in the form of such flyers.[7] Here is an excerpt from a later leaflet: "You should move to the camps as soon as possible to insure your safety from the wrath of the united Lebanese people, and wait for the decision by the legal Lebanese authorities regarding your fate on Lebanese soil.[8] Such flyers and notices are obviously being used to uproot Palestinian civilians and concentrate them in refugee camps. Also, it's important to note that the use of flyers and leaflets as a form of intimidation was first practiced by the Israelis during their invasion of Lebanon.

Other forms of terror include frequent visits by armed, masked men, explosions and aimless shooting rampages in front of homes, grenades thrown at parked cars, and constant driving in front of homes at night. A British journalist provides a vivid description of one such incident:[9]

> "Eight armed men came to our house in the middle of the night," said a Palestinian girl whose family have fled the Sidon suburb of Hilalieh, "broke in and told us to get out. They put a notice CONFISCATED APARTMENT, on the door." The men were masked, but she recognized them as Phalangists from the neighborhood. The next day the local Phalangist chief came round and ordered the family to sell the house for a sum (part of which would go to the Phalange) and to a person of his choosing — or just abandon everything. "He told us to go below the railway line." ... In Sidon, "below the railway line" means, in effect, the refugee camp in Ain al-Hilweh.

People Are Terrified

The psychological results of such unrestricted terror has led to the often-expressed fear of another massacre. To quote a report from Sidon, "People are terrified because it's clear they are getting gathered like cattle. There is no one to turn to." Most of those being evicted have never been confined in camps and are totally unfamiliar with and unprepared for the constraints that such a life entails. A large number are persons who owned their homes and were forced to sell at sixty or seventy percent less than the actual value of their property.

About eighty families have actually moved into Ain al-Hilweh.[7] Given the disastrous housing shortage following the almost total destruction of the camp during the war, the problems faced by such families are enormous. Since there is no land to set up more tents, UNRWA has provided only sixteen tents.

Within other camps, several serious incidents have also taken place. For example, in Mieh Mieh camp on January 31st, a shop was blown up; on February 1st, a group of men drove into the camp and stoned houses; on February 9th, a bomb exploded, injuring three persons and damaging fourteen homes, two very badly.

Israeli Complicity and Militia Implementation

A careful analysis of all the information reported clearly illustrates that a calculated Israeli policy to force the uprooting of the civilian Palestinian population is, once again, in the making. Though the means have changed to accommodate the present situation, dispersal, deportation, and ill-treatment are still in effect. This confirms the conclusions of the MacBride Commission:[9]

> Have the acts of the Israeli armed forces caused the dispersal, deportation, or ill-treatment of populations, in violation of international law? The Commission concludes that one of the principal aims of

(Continued on Page 7)

PALESTINIAN WOMEN UNDER ATTACK

Fearful of further shooting, schoolmates restrain young woman from going to the aid of wounded friend. Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp near Sidon, South Lebanon. March, 1983.

South Lebanon *(Continued from Page 6)*

> the invasion of Lebanon was to ensure the dispersal of the Palestinian population which was pursued through the destruction of the refugee camps and the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. The terror bombing of civilian areas, especially in Beirut, was partly motivated by a desire to ensure the dispersal of the population . . . These practices are in serious breach of the Geneva Protocol I.

In the meantime, the Kahan Commission has also published its findings. While denying Israel's direct responsibility for the massacres of Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila, the report states the following:[9]

> Similiary, it is clear from the course of events that when the reports began to arrive about the actions of the Phalangists in the camps, no proper heed was taken of these reports, the correct conclusions were not drawn from them, and no energetic and immediate actions were taken to restrain the Phalangists and put a stop to their actions.

Three weeks after the publication of the results of the inquiry, and in response to accusations that the Israelis are behind the campaign of terror waged against Palestinians in South Lebanon, the comment at the Israeli military headquarters in Sidon was: "This is an internal Lebanese problem."[10] The terror goes on.

DOCUMENT

Xenophobic Flyer Urges Lebanon Be "Cleansed" of Palestinians. Distributed in Hillaliyeh, near Sidon, South Lebanon, February 1983.

Lebanese!

The glory of Lebanon derives from the glory of its sons and the purity of its soil.

The sun was created to illuminate its land and burn up those who defile it, to cleanse it of all who have abused and continue to abuse its radiance and security. Honorable sons of Sidon and its environs! Sons of Lebanon in Sidon! Help us expel the intruders from the land of Lebanon, and especially from your heroic city, the city of Saidoon *[Arabic spelling refers to the ancient city, eds.]* which has long suffered under Palestinian oppression and destruction.

Our slogan is — let no Palestinian remain on Lebanese soil — and we will realize it, however numerous the obstacles. Neither the prestigious information committees which falsely speak on your behalf, nor those who crawl on their bellies seeking political positions and influence can oppose the march of our revolution.

We are for all Lebanese, and against all intruders.

Long Live Lebanon!

REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE CEDAR

Footnotes

[1]UNRWA press release, February 1983.

[2] *L'Orient-Le Jour*, 9 February 1983.

[3]UNRWA press communique, 19 February 1983.

[4]UNRWA spokesman, Vienna, Austria, February 1983.

[5]The full text appears in *al-Safir*, 25 February 1983.

[6]David Hirst, *The Guardian*, 7 February 1983.

[7]This figure does not include those families who have moved in with relatives and friends, those who have not reported their change of address.

[8]"Report of the International Commission to enquire into the reported violations of International Law by Israel during its invasion of the Lebanon," pp. 189-190. This report is published under the title *Israel in Lebanon*.

[9]"The Commission of Inquiry into the Events at the Refugee Camps in Beirut, 1983 — Final Report, Authorized Translation," p. 13, c. 5. *The Jerusalem Post*, 9 February 1983.

[10] *L'Orient-Le Jour*, 26 February 1983.

West Bank Siege *(Continued from Page 5)*

exclude those arrested since February of this year — hundreds were arrested or detained in the repression attendant upon the demonstrations and disturbances sparked by former President Carter's visit, the spread of the epidemic illness, and the commemoration of Land Day in March and April.

The repression is a necessary ingredient of the official Israel government strategy of incorporating the West Bank by dominating, and if necessary, expelling the Palestinian population. Other tactical aspects of the colonization strategy include a well-financed propaganda campaign in the American press (advertising that "Palestine is Jordan"), and an attempt to underwrite perhaps forty percent of financial burden of colonization from private sources, including land sales to American Jews.[4] In the words of Agriculture Deputy Minister Mikhail Dekel, "It is necessary to strive to deport the Arabs from the area . . . so that no government will be able to return it to the Arabs."[5]

In the face of growing domestic and international opposition, the Likud government approved eight new settlements in the heavily Arab Samarian hills in late March, and used Independence Day to inaugurate another new settlement near Nablus. It persists despite protest by the European heads of state, oblique criticism from the State Department, and Peace Now demonstrations at home.

The extent of the colonization program was first openly detailed by Gush Emunim in 1978. (It was published in September of that year during Israeli government negotiations over Camp David.) An article titled "The Gush Emunim Peace Plan," published in *Yediot Aharonot*, called for a system of settlements that would "cut the West Bank into manageable sections so that they could easily be controlled and annexed fully to Israel." The plan called for a million settlers by the end of the century, one hundred thousand representing the critical mass of an irreversible process. A warmed over version of the Gush plan has now been taken up by the World Zionist Organization. Drawn up by colonization strategist Mattityahu Drobles, it is a thirty-year plan envisioning 165 settlements including five urban magnets with populations as large as thirty thousand. Government demographers, statisticians, engineers, and political advisors are known to be the architects and implementors of the WZO report. Chief of Staff Raphael Eytan's disgusting prediction that the process of colonization would turn West Bank Palestinians into drugged roaches is apparently only a wishful, future version of the regret expressed by Deputy Speaker Meir Cohen on March 16, when he said in the Knesset that he wished they'd expelled 200,000 to 300,000 Arabs in 1967.

Footnotes

[1]PHRC Interview, 30 March 1983.

IN MEMORIAM

The struggle to achieve Palestinian rights lost a dedicated American supporter on Friday, 22 April 1983. Veronica Schoenheer, an active worker for the Palestine Human Rights Campaign in Chicago, died at Billings Hospital. We will miss her creative energy and commitment to justice for the Palestinian people.

[1]*Jerusalem Post*, 10-16 April 1983, p. 19. As we go to press, preliminary reports indicate a similar conclusion by the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta.

[2]For recent studies of epidemic alterations of consciousness, seizures, hyperventilation, and severe emotional strain (labeled 'epidemic hysteria' by epidemiologists), see the *British Medical Journal* (November 1966) and the *New England Journal of Medicine* (March 1983). *The June Bug: A Study of Hysterical Contagion* by Kerckoff and Back (1968) describes an outbreak among highly stressed factory workers. Sociological research investigating reactions of groups subjected to lengthy military occupation should also be investigated. None of the reported cases show the intensity, geographical extent, temporal duration, or communication to groups outside a narrow social stratum characterizing these events. According to the *British Medical Journal* report cited above, "All accounts of epidemic hysteria show that symptoms occur within a unified group against a background of fear." See our editorial.

[3]Copy of discharge record for Nawal Shaher, 25 March 1983, obtained by PHRC from usually reliable sources.

[4]*Jerusalem Post*, 31 March 1983.

[5]Issued in Jerusalem, 8 April 1983; text published in *al-Fajr*, 15 April 1983, p. 3.

[6]*Middle East International*, 18 April 1983, p. 193.

[7]Evans and Novak, "American Jews Offered Chunk of West Bank," *Chicago Sun Times*, 9 April 1983, p. 15.

[8]*Davar*, 24 February 1983.

In a NYT/CBS poll conducted in early April, fifty-seven to twenty-three percent of Americans said military aid should be reduced or suspended if Washington disapproves of Israel's not withdrawing from Lebanon.

American Jews were encouraged to purchase West Bank lands at a conference March 13 in New York sponsored by Americans for a Safe Israel. With a right-wing member of Parliament and an American-born Mayor of a West Bank settlement the major speakers, individual American citizens of the Jewish faith are being asked to financially underwrite the dispossession of a people. We hope the voices of peace activists like Avrham Burg, twenty-eight year old son of National Religious Party Minister of the Interior Yosef Burg, will prevail "Judaism is not territories, it is more than a piece of the land."

Israel and Central America: The Arms Connection

Along with the United States, Israel is now the principal arms supplier to right-wing dictatorships in Central America.

This is a matter of concern to all advocates of peace and social justice for that troubled region. A conference to explore the dimensions of U.S.-Israeli involvement in the region will be held in Chicago.

Saturday, June 4
10:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.

SPEAKERS:

***M.I.T. professor *Noam Chomsky*, noted peace activist and human rights advocate, who will present material from his forthcoming book.**

***A specialist on the Israeli-Central American connection from a major university department of International Relations.**

******Arnoldo Ramos***, official representative of the FDR-FMLN, El Salvador.**

For more information:
Chicago Committee on U.S.-Israeli Intervention in Central America
20 East Jackson #1111
Chicago, IL 60604
(312) 987-1830

Algiers *(Continued from Page 1)*

meeting earlier in February. Their boycott attempt failed.

In their speeches to the PNC, both Naif Hawatmeh and George Habash stressed unity. Hawatmeh, leader of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, excited the audience and reminded them of American atrocities and weapons. He totally rejected the Reagan plan, as well as any negotiations with the Egyptians, Jordanians, or Americans. Habash, who is very sick and remains partially paralyzed from a stroke, spoke for two hours: listing reason after reason why the Reagan plan should be completely rejected, his closing remarks emphasized that the unity of the PLO must be preserved above all, that this was an organization with dissent in unity.

While Western press stories gave play to dissident and splinter groups, Fatah is clearly the dominant organization within the PNC. In addition to the victory Fatah achieved in the delicate war of words to be discussed in the next section of this report, two PNC actions support this observation. First, through a series of parliamentary maneuvers, Arafat added twenty-nine new members to the PNC, all from Fatah, and most from men and women who had fought in Lebanon. Second, all military units, including those of splinter and 'opposition' groups, were placed under the unified command of Abu Jihad, validating a *de facto* condition that had existed since June. The undeniable conclusion is that Arafat and Fatah have emerged from Beirut and Algiers stronger than ever.

Resolutions

In the final draft, the PNC Political Statement carefully avoided any language which called for outright rejection of anything: thus, after endless discussions about the wording of resolutions, about "red lights, green lights, and amber lights," Arafat and the Executive Committee were given space to maneuver as they approach Jordan, Egypt, and the Israeli left. The final language regards the Fez plan as "the minimum" for concerted Arab political action, but did not call for outright rejection of the Reagan plan.

Because the Executive Council has been criticized during the past six months for making contacts with Jordanians, Egyptians, and Israeli peace forces, it is worth looking at the decisions taken by the PNC on these questions. First, by resolving that "future relations with Jordan should be founded on the basis of a confederation between two independent states," the PLO was given enough room to continue discussions with King Hussein. Second, while insisting that rejection of the Camp David Accords was paramount in relations with Egypt, the PNC issued a resolution calling on the Executive Council to build strong relationships with Egyptian nationalist and left-opposition forces, 111 of whom were in attendance. Three official Egyptian delegates represented Mubarak. Third, reference was made repeatedly to the importance of working with the peace and left forces inside Israel, and of working with progressive Jewish forces everywhere. Amnon Kapeliouk, who attended the PNC, was singled out by Salah Khalaf as the author of the most definitive work on the massacres of Sabra and Shatila.

Khalaf, who ranks second only to Arafat, delivered the major, hour-long speech for Fatah, including a point-by-point rebuttal of speeches delivered by the 'hawks'. His speech, which received the largest ovation after Arafat's, basically declared that because the PLO had proven itself in Beirut, it need no longer fear anyone. The PLO would, he indicated, negotiate with anyone, anywhere, anytime, as long as the agenda was that of the Palestinians, and not of someone else.

Lasting the entire eight days, the major battle at the conference was over the wording of the resolution on the Reagan plan — whether to reject the Reagan plan outright, or whether to reject considering it as a sound basis for reaching a solution. Here is the wording:

> The Reagan plan in its procedure and contents does not respond to the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights. The Reagan plan negates the Palestinian rights to repatriation, self-determination, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. It also ignores the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative and contradicts international legitimacy. The PNC declares its refusal to consider the plan as a sound basis for a just and permanent settlement to the Palestinian question and the Arab-Zionist conflict.

It is important to note that this resolution does two things. On the one hand, it clearly spells out the three major shortcomings of the Reagan plan in the eyes of the PLO. Yet on the other hand, it does not reject the plan outright, saying instead that it refuses "to consider the plan as a sound basis for a just and permanent settlement . . ."

Following the submission of the PNC political document, Salah Khalaf met with a delegation of Americans, including journalists, at his villa. Asked about forming a Palestinian delegation from outside the PLO, he suggested that the US recognize exiled West Bank mayors, such as Fahd al-Kawasmeh of Hebron or Muhammad Milhim of Halhul. But he added the condition that Reagan modify his plan to provide self-determination for the Palestinian people. This is the way he put it: "If the US supports the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people, then the PLO leadership would step aside and allow the mayors from the West Bank to negotiate with Washington or Israel. Give us a reply, an amended Reagan plan, then we will discuss it."[1]

One final comment about the Reagan plan: with all the attention focused on its PLO acceptance or rejection, one should remember that Israel has rejected it all along.

Flexible Unity

The PNC Political Statement, and the debates conducted in its drafting, should leave no doubt that the PLO was striving for the flexibility to maneuver and negotiate, but defending the unity and strength it needed to support that flexibility. The emerging strength of Fatah, and of the Executive Committee, should be a clear signal to Washington that the PLO is now in a position to take the necessary risks to bring about a lasting peace. However, the US, not the PLO, is in the position to make the first move. But time is running out.

The small group of Americans who attended the PNC were unanimous in our agreement that the United States alone could probably halt the cycle of hostilities if it would do two things: recognize and negotiate with the PLO, and halt the arms flow to the Middle East. We agreed that the PNC Political Statement gives an "amber light" to discussions, that it does not totally reject the Reagan plan.

Finally, because nothing happens in the United States without popular support, we agreed that our tasks upon returning included mobilizing those constituencies most concerned about bringing peace to the Middle East — the labor, church, civil rights, and peace groups representing political forces with the ability to affect change.

Footnotes

[1]Neither the author nor the editors have seen the Arabic text or its official translation — the wording here is taken from the translation distributed by the Palestine Congress of North America.

[2]Reported to the author, who was not present, by one of the American observors who took part in the conversation.

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☐ Add my signature to the Ad Hoc Committee petition (text — page four).

_____ signature

☐ Add my name and address to your mailing list.

_____ name

_____ street _____ apt.

_____ city _____ state _____ zip

☐ I have enclosed a contribution of _____ to support this initiative financially.

SETTLEMENT PETITION

American Friends Service Committee
Midwest Regional Office
407 S. Dearborn, Suite 370
Chicago, IL 60605

☐ Add my signature to the AFSC settlement freeze petition (text — page four).

_____ signature

☐ Add my name and address to your mailing list.

_____ name

_____ street _____ apt.

_____ city _____ state _____ zip

☐ I have enclosed a contribution of _____ to support this initiative financially.